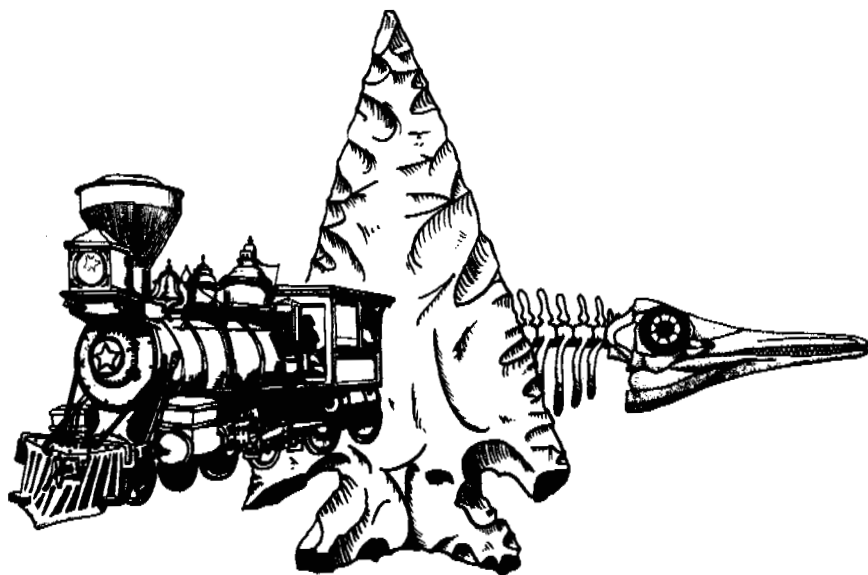


**BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT  
NEVADA**

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF CULTURAL RESOURCES**



**An Ethnohistoric Infant Burial  
from Western Nevada**

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AN ETHNOHISTORIC INFANT BURIAL  
from WESTERN NEVADA

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## INTRODUCTION

The disturbed remains of an infant interred in a granite outcrop southwest of Hawthorne, Nevada, were reported to the Bureau of Land Management by Hawthorne residents searching for "lost treasure." Because the location of the find and the existence of grave goods were known to others, further destruction of the site by artifact collectors was believed inevitable. The body and associated artifacts were removed by BLM and Nevada Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology personnel for anthropological analysis prior to return of the remains to the Walker River, Northern Paiute Indian tribe. The infant, probably less than one month old, was buried on a cradleboard and provided with cloth and glass bead grave offerings. Artifacts and historical analyses indicate interment between ca. 1881 to 1912 date for the burial.

## SETTING

The burial was in a granite outcrop in the eastern foothills of the Wassuk Range, Mineral County, Nevada (Fig. 1). The outcrop, approximately 2.3 miles southwest of the town of Hawthorne, is at an elevation of 5,040 feet. The site is about ten (10) miles south of Walker Lake, a terminal lake basin for the Walker River. The Wassuk Range trends north to south, and it forms the western boundary of Walker Lake. From a lake elevation of about 4,000 feet, the Wassuk Range extends upward to 11,239 feet. at Mt. Grant. The region lies in the rainshadow of the Sierra Nevada and receives about five (5) inches of annual precipitation at lake level. Precipitation increases with increasing elevation, but only the Walker River, fed by Sierra runoff, flows year-round. The region's semi-arid

environment promoted the preservation of the burial remains. The site lies within the Shadscale Vegetation Zone, dominated by shadscale (Atriplex confertifolia; Billings 1949).

#### ETHNOHISTORY

Walker Lake was known as trout lake (agaipah) by the Northern Paiute (Numa) living along its shore and along the lower reaches of the Walker River. The Trout-eaters (agaidika?a) inhabited the northern reaches of the lake and the Fish-eaters (pakwidika?a) inhabited the southern end of the lake (Johnson 1975). Although the lake and river served as an occupational and ceremonial focus for the Native Americans, their transhumant lifeway carried them as far east as the Reese River Valley in central Nevada and the Pine Grove and the Pine Nut mountains to the west. These seasonal treks were in pursuit of game and plants (Nevers 1976; Johnson 1975). Of particular economic importance to the Northern Paiute was the seed of the pinyon pine (Pinus monophylla) available at higher elevations in the Wassuk Range and other Great Basin mountain ranges throughout the state. The neighboring Washo (Wa She Shu) were centered around Lake Tahoe, but occasionally ventured into the region during their seasonal rounds for food plants and game (Price 1980; Nevers 1976). Walker Lake also figures in Washo mythology (Dangburg 1968; Downs 1966).

Euro-American explorers entered western Nevada beginning with Ogden in 1829, Walker in 1833, and Fremont in 1844. In 1851, Mormon Station (Genoa) was established as the first, permanent Euro-American settlement in western Utah Territory (western Nevada) along the Carson River Route of the emigrant trail. The discovery of the Comstock Lode at Virginia City in 1859 ushered in the era of intense mineral exploration and settlement of outlying areas. Permanent Euro-American settlement of the Walker Lake area began in 1859 when W. H. Dickson settled about 14 miles north of the lake (Angel 1881). Following the

Pyramid Lake Indian War of 1860, the Walker River Reservation was set aside, and an Indian agency under "Sub-Indian Agent" Thompson established (Thompson 1983; Wasson 1861). At that time, the reservation included the lower reaches of the river and the lake (Nye 1861). Although the boundaries were greatly reduced in size over the years, the tribe was formally granted a reservation by executive order in 1874.

Officials of the Carson and Colorado Railroad (C&C RR) began discussions with tribal leaders and the Indian Agent in 1880 concerning railroad right of way through the reservation. Construction through Indian lands was permitted for a fee of \$750 and an agreement allowing Northern Paiutes free transportation on the railroad line. This arrangement lasted on the C&C RR until the 1890s (Myrick 1962). Indians on the C&C RR and on other rail lines usually rode atop boxcars or on flat cars added for them.

Northern Paiutes were present in Hawthorne from the day of its inception as the southern rail head for the C&C RR in 1881 (Myrick 1962). The establishment of Hawthorne presented the Northern Paiute a local alternative to reservation and ranch lifeways. Northern Paiutes working as wage laborers were associated with the town as the community waxed and waned in concert with the bonanzas and borrascas of the mining camps it supported. Finally, a prolonged depression began in 1905 when the railroad grade was realigned around the town. In 1907, Hawthorne lost its status as a county seat to Goldfield. Except for the short-lived Lucky Boy strike between 1909 and 1912, Hawthorne was an economically depressed and depopulated community between the time the railroad left and until it returned after an absence of over two decades (Couch and Carpenter 1943). With the establishment of the U.S. Navy Ammunition depot at Hawthorne in 1931, a railroad spur was constructed from the main rail line at Thorne (Myrick 1962).

## FIELD METHODS

The burial had been disturbed on several occasions by the original discoverers of the locality. In addition to this disturbance, there was also extensive displacement and degradation of grave goods by packrats. Archaeological investigations began with photographing and mapping the area. Surface artifacts were collected at the burial and downslope from it. The grave site was exposed by removing overlying cobbles and stones from the crevice formed by large granite boulders. The burial was covered by a packrat nest and colluvium which were systematically removed and screened during excavation. The body and intact cradleboard fragments were removed as separate units. Artifacts and human remains were carefully packed for transport back to Carson City for analysis. An agreement was reached between the Bureau of Land Management, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, and the Walker Lake Indian Tribe for the return of the recovered human remains and all grave goods to the tribe for reburial after scientific examination and analysis.

## INTERMENT

The infant remains were recovered from a shallow grave scooped into the gruss fill at the bottom of the crevice. The grave sloped toward the east and was approximately 1.0 m east to west and 0.75 m north to south. Although extensive damage had occurred to the grave, the burial mode could be reconstructed from the discoverers' testimony and position of cradleboard remnants. The extended body, wrapped in a blanket, was placed on the cradleboard with head and shoulders uphill, and the face up and oriented toward the east. The cradleboard and infant were covered with a brocade scarf, then the burial covered with earth, and the crevice loosely sealed with rocks.



## HUMAN REMAINS

Human remains were separated in the lab from associated packrat midden, textiles, glass beads, and animal bones. These artifacts and other material were bagged and analyzed separately.

The human remains were comprised of the incomplete skeleton and mummified tissue of a very young infant. Table 1 is a listing of the skeletal elements present. Because the skull bones were not fused, cranial measurements were not taken. All of the post cranial bones, with the exception of the right femur, ilium, and one lumbar vertebral body, were joined in anatomical order by desiccated soft tissue and fabric. The presence of the soft tissue on the postcranial remains prevented measurement of all but a few bones, unless dissection was undertaken, an option not pursued. Hair and desiccated skin were also found adhering to the parietals, occipital, and other cranial vault bones. The preservation of the soft tissue is not indicative of the recency of the burial as natural mummification of human remains is represented in ancient cave burials elsewhere in the region including the Carson Desert, Humboldt Sink, and Winnemucca Lake Basin (Kobori 1981). The arid climate and protection from the elements afforded by the rock outcrop favored preservation of the human and cultural remains.

### Age and Sex

The deceased died at a very young age. None of the tooth crowns were completely formed, and based on the pattern of dental development, this individual had died between birth and three months of age (Ubelaker 1978; Table 2). The lengths of the right femur (78.2 mm), left humerus (65.2 mm), and right ilium (37.0 mm) corroborate this age estimate (Ubelaker 1978). The features demarcating sex in the human skeleton do not develop until adolescence, so determination of sex is not possible for this individual.

### Physical Constitution

An examination of a radiograph of the body revealed no obvious pathologies. The tooth enamel was examined for markers of developmental stress. Enamel disturbances occur as concentric rings around the tooth crown showing the position of incomplete development. Known as enamel hypoplasias, these rings provide a clear record of metabolic stress in the growing individual. Because much of the deciduous tooth enamel develops in utero, teeth from a fetus or newborn exhibiting stress markers should represent a stress event also experienced by the expectant mother. Thus, by observing the teeth of the very young, the relative health of both a newborn and its mother can be determined. A detailed examination of the Hawthorne infant's tooth enamel revealed incomplete enamel formation and enamel cracking. Neither of these features, however, is indicative of developmental pathologies. The incomplete enamel formation may be a result of the young age of the individual. The cracked enamel is believed to be a postmortem feature associated with desiccation (Dahlberg pers. comm. 1984). There is no apparent evidence for any trauma, including developmental problems. The tissues appear to be healthy with no indication of disease or trauma.

### GRAVE GOODS

Artifacts associated with the burial included a cradleboard, beads, a scarf, and fragments of other cloth. Although recognizable as a cradleboard from its context and a few diagnostic fragments, this artifact was badly desiccated and extremely brittle. Furthermore, the artifact is incomplete, probably because of packrat activity. In the lab all artifacts were separated from the dirt matrix, gently brushed, and placed in protective trays or plastic bags. Loose beads were soaked in mild detergent and rinsed with water.

## Beads

Four hundred and ninety-six glass beads were recovered from the burial site. Seventy six percent (375) of these beads were light moderate blue (Munsell 5B 6/6; a.k.a. robin's egg blue) wound beads. Measurements of a sample (n=25) averaged about  $8.6 \pm 0.7$  mm in diameter X  $7.0 \pm 0.7$  mm long. The central hole has an average diameter of  $3.0 \pm 0.3$  mm. Nine of these beads were strung end to end on leather thongs. The luster, color, and integrity of the beads was excellent. These beads compared favorably with beads manufactured in Murano, Italy.

Transparent moderate blue (5B 5/6, a.k.a. cobalt blue) wound beads were also represented. These beads are not well preserved; many are crazed and fragmented. Average size for eight of the 11 beads is  $8.9 \pm 0.4$  mm diameter X  $8.2 \pm 0.4$  mm long, with central holes averaging  $2.9 \pm 0.4$  mm in diameter. These beads are believed to be from China.

Larger, colorless wound beads, possibly Chinese, averaged  $9.3 \pm 0.3$  mm diameter X  $7.1 \pm 0.6$  mm long (n=5). These five cracked, crazed and fragmented clear beads had holes averaging  $2.8 \pm 0.1$  mm.

Smaller numbers of other wound beads included two clear amber beads (10YR 6/6), three pale yellowish orange beads (10YR 8/6), and three moderate green (5G 5/6) beads. The size of these beads approximated that for the light moderate blue beads.

One hexagonal dark blue (5B 3/6) drawn bead was recovered. It is 5.1 mm in diameter X 4.6 mm long. Another drawn bead was an opaque white bead 5.5 mm in diameter X 5.1 mm long.

Eighty-one small drawn beads of various colors were recovered in the body cavity (n=72) and also sewn to a cloth strap (n=9). These beads are about 1.9 mm in diameter. Color distributions and quantities were as follows:

translucent red with white center - 6, dark yellowish green - 14, white - 38, dark blue - 21, and light moderate blue - 2.

The bead assemblage is interesting because of the relatively high percentage of light moderate blue wound beads. A small number of these beads was still strung on short leather thongs and may have been suspended from the edge of the cradleboard hood or the leather cradleboard end cover. The other beads may have represented necklace elements, sewn decorations, beaded pendants, or loose beads. The color preference for the light moderate blue beads was also noted for a late-19th century to early-20th century Northern Paiute site at Virginia City, Nevada (Hattori 1975). The other colors (white, dark blue, red, green, yellow, amber, and colorless) were represented in much smaller quantities. Conspicuously absent were black beads, a color associated with the underworld by the Southern Numa (Goss 1972).

Sprague (1984) places an age estimate on a similar assemblage of beads from a Ute burial in northeastern Utah at between 1835 and 1865, while the Virginia City, Nevada data suggest a ca. 1880 to 1930 age. The use of beads for dating is somewhat confusing because of the longevity of the artifact and their popularity with various ethnic groups through time. Beads manufactured in the 19th century could recently be found in speciality catalogs such as the Dixie Gun Works catalog (Kirkland 1975). Similarly, the Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalog listed a variety of beads for sale to their clients in 1927 (Mirken 1970).

#### Button

A blue and white four-hole decorated porcelain button with a concave panel was associated with the burial. The button measured 10.9 mm in diameter and 2.9 mm thick. The decoration consisted of a dark blue rim and stripe around the 6.5 mm diameter panel. A similarly constructed and decorated button

was recovered at Cornucopia, Nevada, where the principal occupation period was between 1873 and 1881 (Hattori and McLane 1983). The widespread use and manufacture of these "china" buttons ranged between about 1840 and 1910 (Clerico 1979). As with the beads, the problem of curation must be considered in evaluating the age of features associated with porcelain buttons.

The single button is interpreted as part of the cradleboard decoration rather than functioning as a clothing fastener. The blue color, possibly culturally significant, is similar to the dominant bead color (Goss 1972). The single button may have been a pendant dangling from the the edge of the hood where artifacts were suspended to entertain the baby (Wheat 1967).

### Cradleboard

The cradleboard was represented by hood and backboard fragments. Although badly fragmented and only partially represented, it exhibits technologically distinctive details. The following description and reconstruction are based on the fragments and comparisons with ethnographic specimens from the Nevada State Museum and Lowie Museum of Anthropology. The basic design represented was an open twined, hooded cradleboard that was at least partially covered with leather. Backboard warp rods were peeled, whole wands (probably Salix) about  $5.2 \pm 0.7$  mm ( $n=12$ ) in diameter. Spacing between the rods was about 4.0 mm. The weft was made from whole wands woven down and to the right (S-twining, Figure 2a, d). Spacing between four extant weft rows on one fragment was 34.4, 24.0, and 48.2 mm.

Weft rows were joined with one another by twisting the weft elements together and forming a loop. This loop was then attached to the side-most warp rod with a splint (Figure 2c). The upper ends of the warp are bent 90° at the last (uppermost) weft row, trimmed flat, and overlapped with adjacent warp ends (Figure 2a). Five additional whole rods were placed along the bent warp ends

to form a bundled foundation. This foundation was then wrapped with willow splints. Thus, a complete, inverted U-shape, composite wooden rod frame was formed along the side and upper end of the backboard. The base or foot-end of the backboard was not clearly represented by the fragments.

A single fragment of the leather covering was observed and photographed at the burial site. This artifact was not analyzed in the laboratory. The leather fragment was attached to the corner of the backboard and probably served as an end cover over the woven backboard finish. Because there were no additional leather covering fragments noted nor was there evidence for a separate bowed frame for this cover fragment, it is not believed that the entire backboard was leather covered.

The hood was comprised of very narrow warp rods about 1.5 mm in diameter. These rods adjacent to the selvage were paired and joined by a split weft twined down and to the left (Z-twining; Figure 2b). The selvage was a splint wrapped around the bunched whole rod foundation formed by bent warp rods.

Fragments of a leather and cloth strap probably represented the cradleboard carrying strap. The two specimens were about 30 and 35 mm wide respectively. The cloth portion of the strap was composed of seven folded layers of cloth hand sewn along the edge. The center-most layers were blue checkered cloth. The folded edge of this cloth strap was decorated with a single row of small opaque white drawn beads (1.9 mm diameter).

#### Western Great Basin Cradleboards

a

The cradleboard was called hup or kwasuhup by the Northern Paiute and bic koosh by the Washo (Nevers 1976; Riddell 1960). As the infant grew, its cradleboard was replaced with a larger one. This may have entailed two or three changes, with reuse of the backboard for subsequent children (Steward

1933; Wheat 1967). The cradleboard was open twined and was usually made of willow. Other than that, the design and manufacture varied within four major styles.

Basket Style Cradleboard. Wheat (1967) and Lowie (1924) provide a description of a Northern Paiute, basket style or scoop-shaped cradleboard for newborn infants. Washo also utilized this form (Nevers 1976). This design incorporated three raised, curved sides. Unlike the larger forms, these cradleboards were carried in the arms of the mother (Lowie 1924). This style is similar to full-sized Yurok, Wintun, Hupa, and Pomo cradle baskets except that the "hood" region is used as a seat (James 1909; Lowie 1924; Kroeber 1925). Other groups, including the Washo, may have utilized baskets for newborns (d'Azevedo 1936; Steward 1933).

Latticework Cradleboard Style. A cradleboard style used by the Owens Valley Paiute is comprised of two perpendicular layers of open twined willow work (Steward 1933). Closely spaced willow warp rods are twined together to form a horizontal support for a vertical willow rod backboard. The backboard is formed by twining the rods together at the foot and head ends. It is then attached to the horizontal support by sewing the two pieces together with yarn and forming geometric designs in the process. The hood is similar to that described for the covered cradleboard, except that no beadwork is described or illustrated on either the hood or cradleboard. This basic style is also attributed to the Washo, Kings River Yokuts, and Eastern Mono (Kroeber 1925).

Uncovered Cradleboard Style. The third style of cradleboard is attributed to the Northern Paiute and Washo (Conodas 1973; Anon 1984; James 1909). It is an uncovered willow form with an integral willow frame. The backboard constricts toward the base and is composed of vertical willow rods joined by open twining

with stitch slant usually down and to the left (Z-twining) for Northern Paiute and usually down and to the right (S-twining) for Washo. The weft element for the backboard is usually willow splints for Northern Paiute and whole willow wands for Washo. Weft rows are continuous with the weft strips wrapped around the sidemost vertical rod between horizontal rows. The upper or head-end of the backboard's warp is usually bent 90° and wrapped. The foot-end of the cradleboard can be unfinished or finished by bending the warp rods upon themselves and wrapping the end together with willow splints. Two horizontal rods or split rods are attached to the back of the backboard for additional lateral support. The side-most rods can either be slightly larger in diameter or the same diameter as the other vertical warp elements.

An open twined hood is attached to the backboard by twine or leather thongs at its apex and by curved willow bows distally. The warp is small diameter paired willow rods joined with willow splints. The stitch slant is down and to the left for Washo and Northern Paiute. The willow bows are attached to the hood with colored thread or yarn. Hood decoration is produced by sewing thread in a design to represent the sex of the child, diamonds for females and parallel diagonal lines for males.

Covered Cradleboard Style. One of the common cradleboard styles associated with the Northern Paiute, and also described by Wheat (1967), is the chokecherry framed, buckskin covered cradleboard (Anon 1984; Riddell 1960). Kroeber (1925), however, mentions that the Washo occasionally utilized the covered cradleboard. The contracting elliptical frame is comprised of two U-shaped peeled branches joined together at the open ends. An open twined backboard using vertical willow rod warps and willow wefts is then secured to the frame along the sides and to willow cross braces. Stitch slant is usually down and to the left (Z-twining).



The cradleboard is then covered with buckskin except for the bottom of the frame, the opening for the child, the hood, and the area where the hood bows attach to the frame or backboard. The hood is constructed in a manner similar to that of the uncovered cradleboard hood. The principal difference between the two is in decoration. The buckskin covering and hood of the covered cradleboard are usually decorated by beaded fringes and, more commonly, sewn floral beaded designs. The distal hood fringe is decorated by beadwork, much of it dangling. On one ethnographic specimen a small gilt and enamel pendant was centrally located on the edge of the hood. The origins for the covered cradleboard are believed to be from Plateau groups in the latter part of the 19th century (Anon 1984; Fowler and Dawson 1986; Kroeber 1925; Wheat 1967).

Comparisons. Despite the widespread individual variation expected with a handmade article, the Hawthorne cradleboard exhibits several distinctive features shared with ethnographic specimens. These features include design, materials, and technique. The Hawthorne cradleboard was a decorated cradleboard similar to ethnographic Northern Paiute and Washo uncovered cradleboard styles. The stitch slant down and to the right (S-twining) is considered a Washo trait, although a few exceptions were noted in cradleboards attributed to both groups. Aleather covering over the ends of the backboard is a characteristic observed on only a single Washo specimen.

Securely tying the loose warp loop to the side of the backboard with a willow splint is a distinctive feature of the Hawthorne cradleboard. In the other specimens examined, the warp was simply twisted together and then wound around the side-most rods between weft rows.

## Fabric

Several fragmentary specimens of dyed fabric were recovered from the burial. These range from a beaded cloth strap to a scarf. Fabrics were examined under high power magnification and compared with known samples. Fragments of dark red cotton cloth with a narrow tan decoration were recovered from the burial fill and also observed adhering to cradleboard fragments. The weave is about three thread rows per 1 mm.

A felted mass of dark blue fibers was also recovered from the fill. The poor preservation of this fabric prevented reconstruction and identification.

A large (68± X 47+ cm) silk floral brocade fragment, believed to be a scarf, was recovered from the burial. This artifact has a narrow hand sewn rolled hem along one edge and loom selvege on two others. The fabric was woven about 27 in. wide with approximately three thread rows per 1 mm. Although badly discolored, it was probably gold or light tan colored. In 1882, colored, brocaded satins (silk) ranged in price between \$0.95 and \$2.00 per yard for 20 in. wide fabric compared to \$0.45 per yard for "Fine All-Wool Plaids" (E. Ridley & Sons 1882).

## DISCUSSION

Although few ethnohistoric burials in the western Great Basin have been described, the Hawthorne burial contained an almost expected mixture of aboriginal and Euro-American artifacts from an interval of acculturation and extreme change for Native Americans. Because the burial was covered, protected by large boulders, and in an area of little rainfall, many normally perishable artifacts were preserved. This assemblage was further distinguished by containing grave offerings. The use of a crevice burial site is an aboriginal pattern extending into prehistory. The burial practice of both the Northern Paiute and the Washo included extended burials capped by stone in protected

areas (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Price 1980). The infant was buried with its head and shoulders uphill, on its back, atop the cradleboard, and with its face oriented toward the east. This face up position may be indicative of the parents' desire for additional children (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986). The principal grave goods included the few immediate possessions associated with the infant, its decorated cradleboard and blanket or coverlet. Additional goods were most likely associated with the mother. These included the silk scarf and, possibly, some of the beads. Of the beads, the preferred color was light blue.

None of the artifacts are truly time diagnostic in terms of Nevada's relatively short history. Estimates, however, can be made from a variety of sources. The Hawthorne cradleboard style is an older style that was supplanted around the turn of the century by the covered cradleboard style for the Northern Paiute, but was retained by most Washo weavers. The large quantity of beads and the different bead types reflect an established trade network. The brocade scarf is also an item which would have become more widely available, though still expensive, after settlement of the area. Although goods were distributed by government agents beginning in 1860 at the Walker River Northern Paiute Reservation on the northern end of Walker Lake, it is doubtful that these would have included silk scarves and trade beads. When Indian Agent Warren Wasson distributed goods at the Walker River Reservation in 1860, he gave each woman needles, thread, and calico cloth (Myles 1956). A likely source for these fancy goods would be purchases with cash from wage labor in nearby Hawthorne.

Based on the local history and nature of the artifacts, a ca. 1881 to 1912 date is estimated for the Hawthorne burial. Though the area's economy and population increased after the 1930s, the artifact assemblage certainly seems to predate that era.

Determining cultural affiliation for these artifacts is difficult. The presence of other Native American groups in this traditionally Northern Paiute area was quite possible during the latter part of the 19th century, particularly with acculturation and the widespread policy of free rides for Native Americans (Myrick 1962). Although the open backboard style and hood construction were indistinguishable from cradleboards attributed to both Northern Paiute and Washo, the twining stitch slant down and to the right is more closely associated with Washo weaving. Trade of woven goods from the Washo to the Northern Paiutes, however, would not have been unusual. Finally, the site location strongly supports a Northern Paiute affiliation for the burial. Although the burial cannot be conclusively associated with any Native American groups, Northern Paiute and Washo seem to be the most likely candidates, with Northern Paiute the most probable.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The exhumation of the Hawthorne infant burial by the BLM was undertaken to protect the gravesite from impending destruction by relic hunters and to return the remains to the local Native American community after scientific study. The anthropological investigations attempted to recover information on the local people and their culture.

The study of the human remains afforded recovery of biocultural data from a poorly studied region. Given the sparse nature of the Hawthorne remains, it is not possible to comment in detail about the general physical nature of past Native Americans from this region. It is possible to say, however, that there were no indicators of trauma, disease, or pathology in this individual. The archaeological information reflects burial practices and material culture during an interval of extreme culture change for Native Americans in Nevada.

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Table 1. Skeletal Remains from the Hawthorne Infant Burial.

Cranial Elements	Postcranial Elements
Temporals	Illium (right)
Parietals	Clavicles
Frontals	Scapulae
Maxilla	Humeri
Sphenoid	Radius (right)
Zygoma	Ulna (right)
Occipital	Femur (right)
Mandible	Carpals (right)
Dentition	Metacarpal diaphyses (2 right)

Table 2. Dental Measurements of the Hawthorne Infant Burial (Measurements in millimeters).

MEASUREMENT (mm)	MANDIBLE				MAXILLA			
	Left		Right		Left		Right	
	1	2	1	b	1	b	1	b
TOOTH								
dI1 (Incisor)	4.4	3.1	4.4	3.2				
dI2	4.7	3.6	4.8	3.6	5.4	4.3	5.6	4.4
dC (Canine)	4.9	3.3	4.9	3.0				
dM1 (Molar)			7.7	5.6	7.0	7.3	7.0	7.3
dM2	9.4	6.8	9.2	7.0				

1

l=length. Dimension taken at area of greatest length (Larsen 1982).

2

b=breadth. Dimension taken perpendicular to crown length (Larsen 1982).

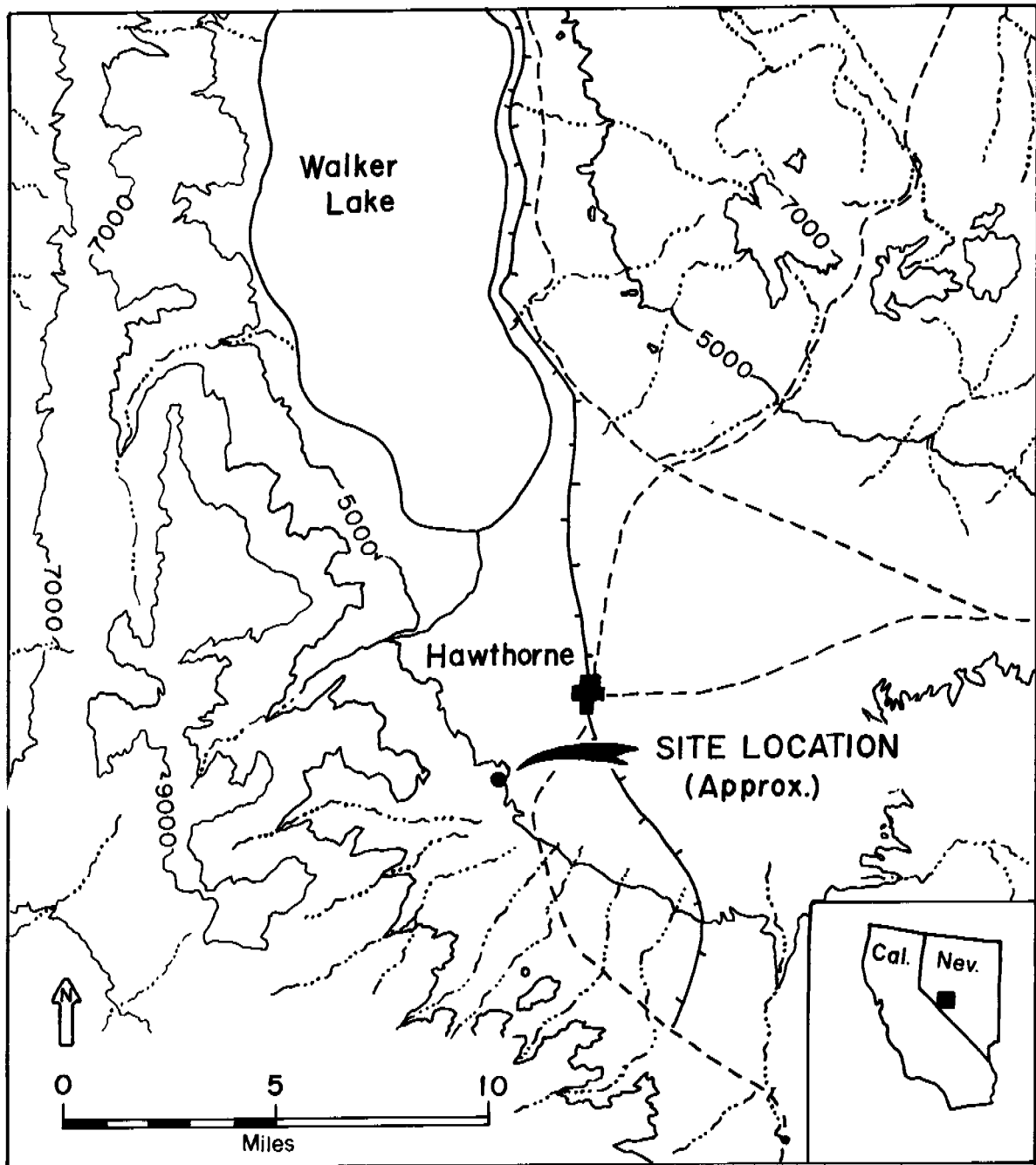


Figure 1. Map of Study Area ca. 1890. Location of site is approximate.

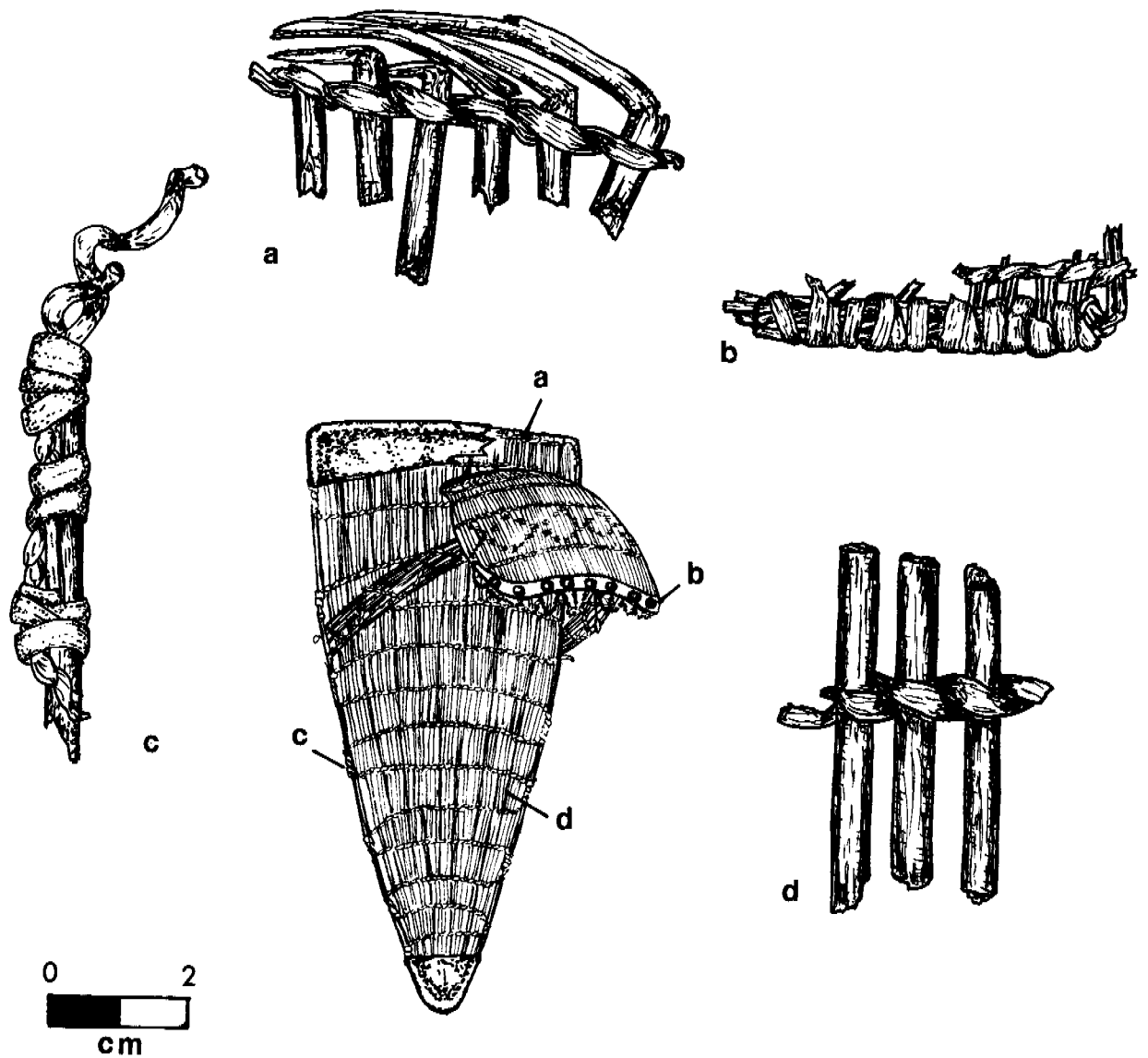


Figure 2. Cradleboard Reconstruction: Selvege fragment, leather covering removed in reconstruction to show underlying warp finish; b. Fragment of selvege (distal) end of cradleboard hood; c. Fragment showing weft attachment to lateral warp; d. Fragment of backboard showing weft and warp remnant.